1: Aaowan T 3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Ruala MD4

XXVI

The Stealing of the Mare

AMIR FUAZ HAD not brought his tribesmen to al-Hajal for the purpose of routing out marauding Fid'an. The encounter with them was accidental. The object of the Ruala *ghazu* (raid) was the recovery of a blood mare which the Saba had "lifted" a short time before. Falha, the "Luckbringer", as she was called, was of the best strain in Arabia and famed throughout the land. As soon as Fuaz learned that she had been taken, he dispatched Mnahi to the Saba with an offer of forty camels for her restitution—an exceedingly high value to put on a mare. But the Saba declined the offer. The only alternative to buying back Falha, as the Saba well knew, would be taking her back by force; and Fuaz honourably informed them that such was his intention. This did not amount to a declaration of war. It was rather a knightly challenge, and the rules of the game involved the tacit understanding that no blood should be shed unnecessarily on either side.

Fuaz's scouts—*Iyun*, the "eyes", the Bedouins call them—had tracked the mare to a Saba encampment in the vicinity and had thoroughly reconnoitered its surroundings. They had discovered that the Saba camels and horses, including Falha, were grazing under the guard of only a few youths, in a depression several miles away from the main camp, some seventy tents strong.

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a city man or a European buys in that manner—never a son of the desert. 422 231

The mare owned by two men is called *marbaṭ*; the part owner who takes care of her is *rā'i-l-marbaṭ*. He is responsible

FIG. 51—A *ḥamra'* mare.

for her health and must give compensation should the animal die or miscarry owing to his negligence. If the partners want to annul, *jetaḳāṣarūn*, their agreement, they go to the chief's tent and declare it before witnesses, so that they cannot blame each other afterwards, whatever may happen. A partner can also be compelled to give up his rights, *muḳāṣara*, if the other or others desire it or have to sell the mare. For instance, the chief may be satisfied that the man who insists on breaking the agreement is unable in any way either to provide himself with new camels, to procure the amount needed to buy a bride for his son, or to buy weapons demanded by the avenger for blood that has been shed. Possibly the chief may be convinced that the part owner would not get as much for the mare from his own people as a stranger or a European offers him. Under 231 422 425

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such circumstances the chief might well decide to sell the animal in question himself and to give the unwilling part owner one half of the proceeds. The latter also is privileged himself to buy out the other's share in the mare at the figure offered by the stranger. The price paid for a mare is called *sijâḳ*.

EQUIPMENT, USE, AND VALUE OF HORSES

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The word for a horse saddle (Figs. 52, 53, 54) is *meršeḥa*; "Saddle the horses! *meršeḥû-l-ḫejl*." The saddle consists of a leather or quilted, woolen cushion, *žerijje* (Fig. 52*a*), sewn to a cloth cover, *libbâde* (*d*), and firmly fastened to the saddle. The saddle is also supplied with girth and stirrups; *b*, *râs al-bedd*; *c*, *karbûz*; *e*, *ḫrûǧ al-meršeḥa*; *f*, *ḥelâḳ*; *g*, *ḥzâm*; *h*, *bṭâne*; *j*, *zamḫa*; *k*, *bzîm*; *l*, *rukb*.

The rein is very simple; the bridle proper, *ʿanân* (Figs. 55, 57, pp. 392-393) with an iron ring, *ʿaẓeda* (*a*), is but rarely used.

The forelegs of a mare are nearly always fettered with an iron chain called *ḥadîd* (Fig. 56, p. 392). "*Ṣakk al-ḥadîd ʿala-l-faras*," means "he fettered his mare's legs"; "*Ḥaddedû-l-ḫejl*, put fetters on the horses!" The single parts of the shackles are as follows: *a*, *ʿarejža*; *b*, *ḳṣuba*; *c*, *sinsile*. They are closed or opened by a key which is usually in the care of the owner's wife, daughter, or sister. It is also the duty of these women to harness the mare, especially when an alarm cry is given. Then the rein is thrown over her head and the bridle put in the mouth, *saffafatha* (or *ṣaʿaṭatha*) *al-ʿanân*, or *alǧamatha*. "*Saklab aw zabb beṣahr al-mohra w-dafaʿaha*" means: "the rider throws himself into the saddle of the mare and rides off."

The Bedouin never undertakes a long trip on a mare but always on a camel. Only when he pays a visit to a neighboring camp, or rides out to meet a dear guest, or repulses an attack, or assails the enemy's herds will he use a horse.

With a rider on her back the mare will walk with a light, long pace, *tehudd ḥudda*. When defiling before their prince or commander, *ʿarḍa*, on a festive occasion or in time of danger, the Bedouins hold their mares up short so that they leap forward, rise on their hind legs, back slightly, and then leap forward again. This performance is called *hedeba* or *tehaddob*. In a mock battle, *leʿeb al-ḫejl*, or during a man-to-man fight, *ṭrâd*, the mares will spring in the same manner. Mares gallop

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

only when racing or in the attack, *ṛâra*. To stop his animal the rider cries: *"Hamî ḥaj;"* to start it: *"Ghara ǧharab."* 492

If I call a person,						I say of myself: *aṣîḥ.*
„	„	a mare	„	„	„	*at'i.*
„	„	camels	„	„	„	*eššâǧe'.*
„	„	a donkey	„	„	„	*eḥarreš.*
„	„	a dog	„	„	„	*ešli.*
„	„	sheep	„	„	„	*ethi.*
„	„	a falcon	„	„	„	*ad'i.*

As mares are hardly ever sold, they have no fixed price. If a man wishes to buy a certain mare, he must pay whatever the owner asks, and the latter generally wants more than the buyer offers. It is said in the desert that the price of a thing is fixed by him who wants it, *aṣ-ṣil'a tetba' ar-râṛeb.* The Bedouins pay each other as much as ten camels for a yearling mare; for a three-, four- or five-year-old mare they offer from fifteen to thirty thoroughbred riding camels. An adult stud horse is usually cheaper than a yearling mare. 435

LOSS OF HORSES

When a Rwejli's mare has been captured by the enemy and then recaptured by another Rwejli, the latter is obliged to return it to his fellow tribesman but must be paid a she-camel as compensation. A colt of the same mare captured by a Rwejli must also be given back to the owner, six camels being the reward in this case. Such a colt is known as *ṛî'*. The question then asked is: "Didst thou get thy [captured] mare or her colt? *ǧâtak faraṣk wallâ-l-ṛî'*." 425

On learning who has recovered the colt of his captured mare, her owner goes to him, saying: "The daughter of my mare is with thee, I demand her from thee, *ana ǧârî'ha 'alejk.*"

"That is not true, this is not the daughter of thy mare. I myself paid so-and-so many she-camels for her;" to which the owner replies:

"Good, now keep to the figure thou sayest thou hast paid, *ok'od li bimâ sikt*, till I bring my witnesses."

"I will do so," agrees the other, and those present declare:

"We are thy witnesses that he will keep to such and such a figure and that he will neither sell nor take away the colt."

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Then the owner goes to seek the captor. The owner in search of his animal is called *ḳaṣṣâṣ*; he is free to go even to the enemy, who in this case must help. On arriving at the latter's tents, he inquires after his stolen mare and her colt.

[492]

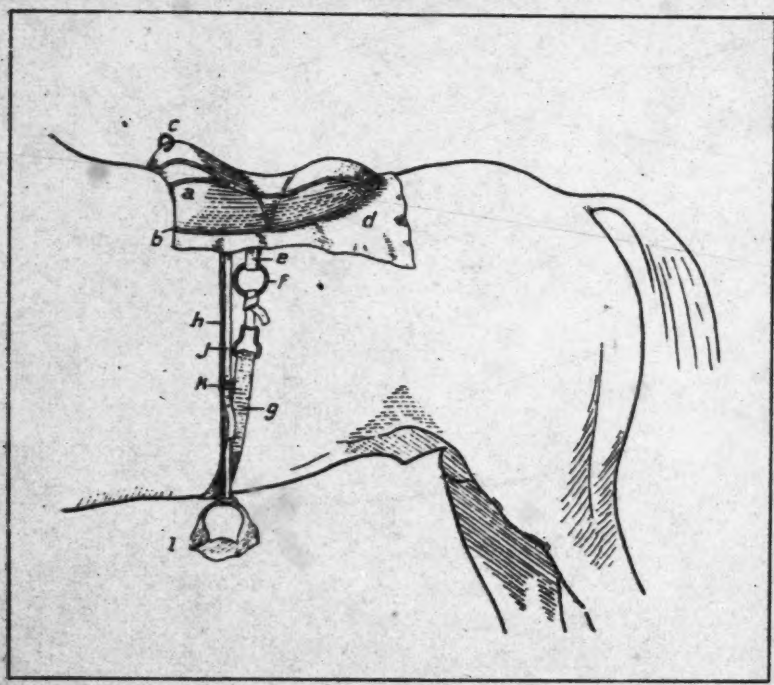

FIG. 52—A horse saddle, *meršeḥa*.

On finding what he seeks, he asks one of the enemy to come with him as a witness that the captured filly is actually the daughter of his stolen mare. Testimony of this kind being indisputable, his tribesman says: "Give me the proper compensation and take her! *hât li sowḳaha w-ḥoḏha.*" He then gets five camels, the witness helping in the search, *jaḳoṣṣ 'anha*, gets one, and the animal is returned to the original owner.

The owner of the captured mare tries first to ascertain who has captured her and where she is kept. For the earliest reliable report of her whereabouts a reward of five *meǧidijjât* ($4.50) is paid. Often the new owner, although an enemy, sends a report every year of the mare's condition and of the colts born to her.

They are of the Ṣlejb and Šarârât tribes. Such a pauper, *ẓa'îf*, comes to the women's compartment in the tent and whimpers: 735

"O mistress of this tent! behold, I am, by Allâh himself, naked and my family hungers. Therefore I come to Allâh and to this tent; *w-ana ǧâj jamm allâh w-jamm hal-bejt.*"

If there is want in the tent, too, or if they are not willing to give anything, they simply say:

"Run along, we have nothing to give! *ḳawṭer mâ 'endana šien.*"

A chief could not, of course, let a beggar go away in that manner, and other Rwala also try to do as much as they can for him. They do it, partly from love of Allâh, *ilâhijje*, partly because they like to hear the beggar's thanks and hope that their charity may be extolled elsewhere, *ješkor w-jeḏkor.*

To conceal a lost article is not considered dishonest as long as nobody calls for it. The finder is not required to search for its owner; he must search for his own property. 425● 626

Many things get lost during the migrations. The camels laden with tents, furniture, rugs, garments, etc., rub against each other or against bushes, roll in the sand, start trotting suddenly, and lose one parcel after another of their load all along the route. Many of these lost things can be easily hidden and appropriated for the finder's own use, as the dress and personal effects of the Rwala and the furnishings of their tents are almost without exception similar in their appearance. It is hard to prove that this or that article does not belong to the person in possession. A dishonest person or one who has no fear of Allâh will not return what he has found even when asked to do so by the owner himself. The latter usually either hires a public crier or, mounting a horse or camel, himself rides slowly through the camp in the evening when all the people are in their tents, shouting: "Oh, thou who hast seen such and such a thing and esteemest Allâh more than that which thou hast concealed! O thou who wilt keep quiet about a thing of no value, be careful that thou takest it not for that which is dear to thee, that the place where thy camels rest at night will not be left empty; and that thou mayest not call for help with no man willing to hear thee! *Jâ min 'ajjan aš-ši al-flâni w-hw jeḏkor allâh 'an al-ṛaba' jâ čâmen al-bâli ta'awwaṛteh bel-râli jaṣbaḥ mrâḥak ḫâli tṣiḥ w-lâ lak wâli.*"

425
626 "Whoever has seen such and such a thing or heard or received news of it, or knows anything of it, let him remember God and not hide it; *jâ min 'ajjan al-ṛaraẓ al-flâni aw ḫebber aw 'allem w-hw jeḏkor allâh 'an al-ṛaba'*."

When a man happens to know something of the lost article and hears the shouting, he says: "Come hither and take thy thing!"

If anything belonging to a traveling merchant, Kubejsi, is lost, he too rides through the camp shouting at the top of his voice:

"O ye who hear this voice, praise the Prophet! He is for you the first, 'Ali is the second, and Fâṭma, the prophet's daughter, is the third. Who has seen this and that?"

The finder of the lost article, if willing to return it, shouts back to the crier: "O thou owner of that thing, come hither! *jâ râ'i-l-ṛaraẓ elḥâḳ elḥâḳ*."

But if a lost article which has been proclaimed publicly and which has evidently been concealed with the intention of keeping it, is found, the culprit is reviled by the whole camp and soundly thrashed by his kinsfolk, *jenakkelûneh tenkîl*, because he has disgraced them.

701 721 partakers in the raid greet him with the words: "May this project bring luck, *râšda han-nijje*," his answer being: "The same to thee, *lenowlak*."

In every raid there is a commander or leader. In the smaller ones there is only one, in the larger there may be more. In the smaller raids the leader, *ʿažîd*, takes the best of the captured riding camels, *nâḳt aš-šdâd*, as well as a she-camel which strikes his fancy, *al-mhawwa'*, and finally a she-camel for sacrifice, *al-ʿažire*, because according to the custom one she-camel is sacrificed after each successful raid. [782]

If the raiding party is made up of various tribes or clans, each of them has its own wholly independent leader. Only when the commander-in-chief also participates will he command in person and thus become *al-munîḥ al-muṭîr*, that is to say, the one who gives orders when to rest and when to march. To *al-munîḥ al-muṭîr* one she-camel, *ṣadrijje*, is given by each of the leaders, and besides he gets all the pack camels captured in the raid, such animals being recognized by their bald or gray backs, *ašhab aẓ-ẓahr*. Moreover he can pick out any she-camel he desires, *ḥazîzateh* (sic), and the best riding camel, and the camel for sacrifice. As a leader of his own troop he shares equally with the other leaders except when nothing but pack animals, he-camels, *zeml*, and she-camels, *roḥl*, have been captured in the raid. In that case the leader takes as many as he wants, the rest going to the men under his command.

701 727 ●425 The commander also decides whether the booty is to be divided, *ḥišer*, or whether every one has to seize it on his own account, *ṛejr ḥišer*. In picking out a riding camel after a raid in which every man has taken booty for himself, the *ʿažîd* permits its owner to take any other he pleases in exchange, but has the right to except three participants from whom nothing may be taken. Such a permission is given with these words: "I empower thee to select from all raiders excepting from these three, A, B, and C. To them do not go, but otherwise take what thou desirest. *Ana mheddak behal-ṛazw ʿoḳob ṭalâṭe flân wa-flân wa-flân lâ tiǧihom ḫoḏ illi tarṣîk.*" The she-camel he thus takes is called *ṛaẓwa*. If stray horses, *mâreǧ*, or abandoned camels are caught or dropped rifles found, both these being called *hâreǧ*, they are handed over to the commander, who is entitled to them. For the rest, captured horses always belong to the captor, are never shared,

701 and cannot be claimed by the commander. If a horse owner
727 who has formed a partnership with a camel owner captures
425 only one she-camel, he keeps her, giving his partner six *meǧidijjât* ($5.40) in compensation. If he captures a horse, he gives his comrade a she-camel from his own herd; otherwise the first captured she-camel is always his, while the second, *ʿâjde*, belongs to the partner. But when everybody takes booty on his own account he must mark the captured she-camel in such a way that she may not be taken by someone else. Usually he makes her kneel and fetters both her forelegs to prevent her from running away. A she-camel about which two raiders are in dispute is called *ṛubâša*.

If the commanders of a raid agree to share the booty obtained by all, *jetaḫâšarûn*, they begin by counting the participants. If one of the leaders has many and another only a few men with him, the latter is given more, so as to equalize the strength of all the troops. The booty is divided equally into as many parts as there are leaders; these take their share and apportion the rest among their men. Demanding a head rope from each man, the leader lays these ropes over his left arm and, walking among the captured animals, hangs one rope after another around their necks. Every one then takes the she-camel with his head rope. The remaining animals are divided in the same manner. Should there be more participants than captured camels, the *ʿažîd* divides them arbitrarily. As a rule he takes into consideration how much booty has been taken by the men individually or the fact that some of the men may have lost camels of their own. The manner of getting booty and of its division should always be agreed on before the raid, to prevent trouble afterwards.

721 When all the men taking part in a raid assemble, the leader informs them whither they are bound. After midnight two or three men on horseback are ordered to ride ahead in order to examine the country through which the expedition has to pass as far as their next night's rest. They are called [825] *ʿajn* (pl., *ʿujûn*). As far as possible they should have white horses, because white means success. Their duty is to find the tracks of Bedouins, to look from hilltops for camps, grazing camels, and troops of riders, and to examine the neighborhood of the next night's stopping place with regard to water and pasture, etc. If they sight a troop of riders or if they find neither water nor sufficient pasture near the spot

3. *min al-ḳejṣûma ila' ʃejḥân*
miṯl al-ḥašab bel-'arâžibi
4. *jâ bint al-mḥaẓẓab al-awğâ*
'ala-l-ṛazi teš'aṭ al-ğibi.

1. O daughter of mine, thy lover is behind, not to be seen;
A wolf and vulture are tearing his flesh.
2. Horses were gathered by the Ša'lân kin,
And the riding camels like locusts follow each other.
3. From al-Ḳejṣûma as far as Fejḥân
[The fallen lie] on each other like the crosspieces in a leather bucket.
4. O daughter, thou who paintest thy cheeks,
For thy beloved, thou wilt tear the dress on thy breast!

The poet and reciter was the slave Selîm. The victorious troop led by Prince an-Nûri returns with the booty taken from Sa'dûn, the prince of the Muntifeẓ. The women and girls stand in the tent corners, looking through the gaps for their sweethearts.

Verse 2. All the horses captured by the slaves or servants go to their master, not to them; therefore the members of the Ša'lân family collected and led them. The riding camels belong to those who capture them, even to the slaves and servants; they, however, let their masters keep them in return for payment. 3. Al-Ḳejṣûma is a well. 4. The daughter spoken of was the wife of a fallen hero, because a wife alone is allowed as a sign of her sorrow to blacken her face with ashes and dust or to tear open the clasp of her dress below the throat.

1. *Ṯâr ad-daḫen w-ettaḳa-l-ḫawâf*
elja' mâ-ṣ-ṣa'ab ṣâr muṭwâ'i
2. *al-ḥorr al-ḳaṭâwi abu nawwâf*
jâ mu'aššı aḏ-ḏib elja' ğâ'i.

1. Up floated the rifle smoke, and into hiding went the coward,
Until, at last, the rebellious became obedient.
2. The falcon hunting *ḳaṭa'* birds, he is the father of Nawwâf,
Oh, he who prepares supper for a wolf which hungers!

Of this poem Selîm also was both poet and reciter.

Sa'dûn ṛâzi 'ala' ṭâmer
'oḳb az-za'al šâf be'ajûneh

CHAPTER XXII

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

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No Bedouin may give away the property of his family either to strangers, or to his wife or even to his daughters. If he does so, his son or his nearest kinsman outside of his immediate family has the right to demand the return of the gifts. This right is called *menn*. As the saying has it: "Thou wilt give it to me, but thy son will take it away from me by the right of *menn*: *ent te'ṭini wa-bnak jemennah minni*." It is not necessary to demand the gifts back at once; that may be done later, even after some years have elapsed. The witnesses summoned will testify that the claimant's father gave away certain property, and the receiver must return everything plus any increase which the gift has brought in the meantime. If, for example, he received a she-camel ten years ago, he is bound to return not only the old animal, but all her offspring. If, again, he has given or sold the she-camel to somebody else, suitable compensation is fixed. Only in cases when the gift was made by some member of the Eben Ǧandal or Eben Ṛubejn kin, *šaṭa' ǧandalijje* or *ṛubejnijje* will the *menn* lose its validity. No Ṛwejli could explain to me the reason of this custom, but all maintained that it had been the practice since time immemorial. To give an instance: Fâjez eben Ǧandal once returned from a raid of which he was a commander, *'ažîd*, with rich booty. One of his warriors, Ḫalaf al-Flejḥi, captured four camels, males, *zwâmel*, which were to go to Fâjez, as, according to the Bedouin law, every captured he-camel belongs to the leader. However, as this particular raid was not made on the basis of sharing the booty, *ṛejr ḥišer*, but everybody was to keep what he had captured, Ḫalaf would have received nothing at all. He therefore went to Fâjez's tent and entered the part reserved for the women, where the wife of Fâjez, Felǧa, was suckling her two-year-old baby son, Ǧed'ân. Ḫalaf stroked him caressingly and begged her help:

"O Felǧa," he said, "put in a kind word for me and make the baby, *'ajjel*, say: 'I give those *zwâmel* to Ḫalaf.'"

When Felǧa obligingly repeated his words, Ǧed'ân said: "I give Ḫalaf the *zwâmel*."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Filled with joy, Ḫalaf rode to his tent, branded the camels with his mark, and let them be driven to pasture. But soon afterwards Fâjez, ignorant of Ḫalaf's stratagem, sent a slave to demand the animals. Ḫalaf, of course, sent back the answer:

"The *zwâmel* are mine. Eben Ǧandal gave them to me."

The slave asked: "Which Eben Ǧandal?"

"Ǧed'ân eben Ǧandal."

On hearing the message, Fâjez inquired of his wife and, learning what had happened in his absence, let Ḫalaf have the camels with the words: "A gift of Eben Ǧandal knows no *menn*."

A camel presented by a man to his divorced wife belongs, with all her calves, to the divorcee exclusively. Neither the husband's nor her own kin can lay any claim to her. She can give or sell the camel to whomsoever she wishes and spend the money received for it without being responsible to anybody, for she is the sole owner of that property. *mâ leha šerîc ill-allâh.*

When a Rwejli dies, leaving a widow with a baby daughter, his kin takes his tent as well as his camels. The widow goes back with her daughter to her own kin. From the price that had been paid for her she gets a she-camel, *ba'îr*, which also belongs to her only. The little daughter remains with her till she grows up, returning then to her father's kin.

If a Rwejli leaves two widows with little boys, his property is divided temporarily between both widows to enable them to bring up the boys. At the sons' maturity the estate is divided among them according to law, i. e. the first-born is given one camel more than his brothers. This male or female camel is called *nefel*. The tent and the saber belong, as is the Arab custom, *ṭarâjež al-'arab*, to the youngest. The gift, *neḫîle*, which the boy receives on his circumcision is his own property, which he shares with nobody.

A short time ago a Rwejli died leaving two widows, each of whom was suckling a baby boy. Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, who became their guardian, *wâṣi*, gave one widow both the tent and all the camels, letting the other go empty-handed with her boy to her kin. When the latter complained of this high-handed action to Prince an-Nûri, he ordered the estate to be divided between them equally, as required by the Bedouin law, *ṭarâjež al-'arab*.

If after the father's death his sons also die, the widow's